1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

175 Now we were in the true, true Saramacca country, the land which the Bush Negro feels to be entirely his own. White men, it is true, had been here before, but only a handful, and the gods of the river, who were powerful, saw to it that of these not many got back to the white man's land. True, true Saramacca country! Every Bush Negro we met on the lower river spoke of it with the deepest feeling.

"It is all right here," one man after another had said, "but wait until you see the upper river, the true-true Saramacca!"

It was here that the first Bush Negro villages had been built, though this seemed fabulous to the strangers who, in strong boats, guided by men who were wise in the moods and courses of the river, had had nine days of hard travel on the way. The lower-river villages began to appear only after peace had been declared and had proved lasting. Eighty-six years ago men from the upper river who lived beyond the Granman's own village, in the Grand Rio, had come down and built the village of Gansee, which was some four hours' paddling upstream from the railhead.

We spoke of this to Bibifo, who himself was born in this country.

"You may well wonder, white man."

361 Here was no danger of having to wrest a camp from the
●103 bush at night, when the short tropical dusk came to overtake the traveler. Villages followed close, one upon the other. Here was Ma'lobbi, where the beauty of the wood
[322] carver's art had made us linger beyond the time allotted to us for making the journey from S'ei to Asindopo Lantiwe. Here was Hei Kununu—High Mountain—which rose on a
[133] steep slope above the river, and was pleasant to see after the long stretches of flat plain that lay below. Semoisi, noted for its riches, was there, and Pempeh, bearing a name well known in the Ashanti country in Africa. Here villages
203 were so close to each other that they could announce our approach on the talking drums.

"What is it we hear, Bayo?" we would ask.

"They are cutting down trees, Bak'a."

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

tion as the Djukas stand and gaze at the criminals of France. And, through this study of the Djuka, the reader may know Djuka life for himself. In the pages of Dr. Kahn's book he journeys up tropical rivers to jungle villages whose names, being translated are, "Try me," "God knows," "Don't Touch Me," and the "Village of the Foot that has no Resting-Place." He meets men whose names mean "Waving Flag," "He Speaks the Truth," "Nice Fellow," "Laughs When He Talks," and "Love Is Sweet."

Dr. Kahn takes his reader far into the interior, for his starting point is where superficial travellers end. The journey leads to the tribe which has two languages: one for ordinary use, and the other a secret language which they call "deepee talkee"; and to strange villages which a man must enter carrying a paddle before him as a symbol that he is voyaging. It is a journey among peoples proud and spirited and courageous, descended from ancestors so bold in their rebellion that they were able to conclude treaties whereby the white man paid them a tribute which their descendants still receive in the form of an annual gift from the Dutch authorities to the headmen of the various Djuka tribes. The reader thus finds himself among the only primitive people in the world to whom the white man pays tribute; among a people to whom magic is as real as science is to us; who believe that spirits, both good and evil, inhabit the very streams and trees of the forest; people who know how to manufacture courage through the hypnotic intoxication of the tomtom and how to get rid of fatigue in the ecstasy of the dance; people whose

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

It may be of interest to recall the names of some of the old villages which constituted places of refuge for the escaped slaves in the early days and from which many of the forays were conducted against the white plantations. In the jungle between the Surinam and the Saramacca rivers were the following:

Villages	*Headmen or Captains*
Acoro-kriki	Aletoo
Attoma-kriki	Attama
Awara	Davo
Congo-kriki	Attoma
Doussou-kriki	Mufinga
Cabrolte	Primo
Janwiri-kriki	Kwakoo, Klaas, Pedro
La Motte	Foolon
Matawarie	Adoo
Loango	La Motte
Toofinga	Coffie
Wana	Mathysie
Pada	Pambo, Magondi, Darie, Samsam

Higher up the rivers, separated from these, were still more villages continuing right on to the Brazilian frontier, even on to the Orinoco River, where some of the escaped slaves mixed with the Indians.

The villages between the Surinam and the Marowyne rivers were the following:

To the north of Paramaribo, between the Duivelsbroek

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

(Devil's Pants) Swamp and the ocean was the village of No Meli Mi (Don't Touch Me).

On the Upper Surinam River at the source of the Surnau Creek and to the north of the plantation Maasstroom there was a village called Broos Condree; on the right bank of the lower Commewyne River, the village of the Headman Kopro-Kanoo (Copper Cannon) was situated.

On the Upper Cottica were the following havens of refuge:

[623]

Villages	*Headmen or Captains*
Gado Saby	David Voro
Corsary	Pamo (Governor)
Meli Mi	Araby
Mi Sa Lasi	Boston
Tesi	Abram
Boesi Krei	Thoma
Kwami Condree	Coffie
Karoe Condree	Jan Prado
Areisi Condree	Quakoo
Boucou	Baron
Aroukou	Bonny, Joli Coeur

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

gave rise to another Bush Negro nation known as the *Boni* tribe. There are also three other tribes today of less importance: the *Matawaai* on the Upper Saramacca River, the *Quintee-Matawaai* which is a sub-tribe on the Copenam, and the *Paramacca* on the Middle Marowyne with villages on both the French and Dutch sides of the river.

The tribal divisions are strictly enforced. Not only is intermarriage forbidden, but each tribe has its separate government, and each is referred to locally as a "river nation." Each tribe likewise has its own territory, and any poaching by hunters, fishers, or balata bleeders is rigorously punished. The ruler of the tribe is a king, or *granman*. Among the photographs is one of old Jankoeso, the kindly shrewd ruler of the Saramaccaner nation; the Aucaner ruler, Amekti, has just died, his place probably being taken by Matodja. The Boni granman is named Awensai.

The largest tribe is the Saramaccaner, with a population of about 14,000. Their village of Santi Gron (Sandy Ground), some twenty miles from Paramaribo on the Lower Saramacca River is the nearest of all Djuka villages to white civilization. But the main body of this tribe begins some ninety miles up the Surinam River from Paramaribo, and the villages are strung along the Surinam River for a hundred or more miles further on back into the interior. The names of some of these villages are: Nu Condree, Lombe, Gansee, Biodoti, Adawai, De Jun, Masumba Pratti, and Dahomey, and other towns of even more picturesque appellations: Boto-Passi, Poki Gron, Granman Condree, and many more.

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

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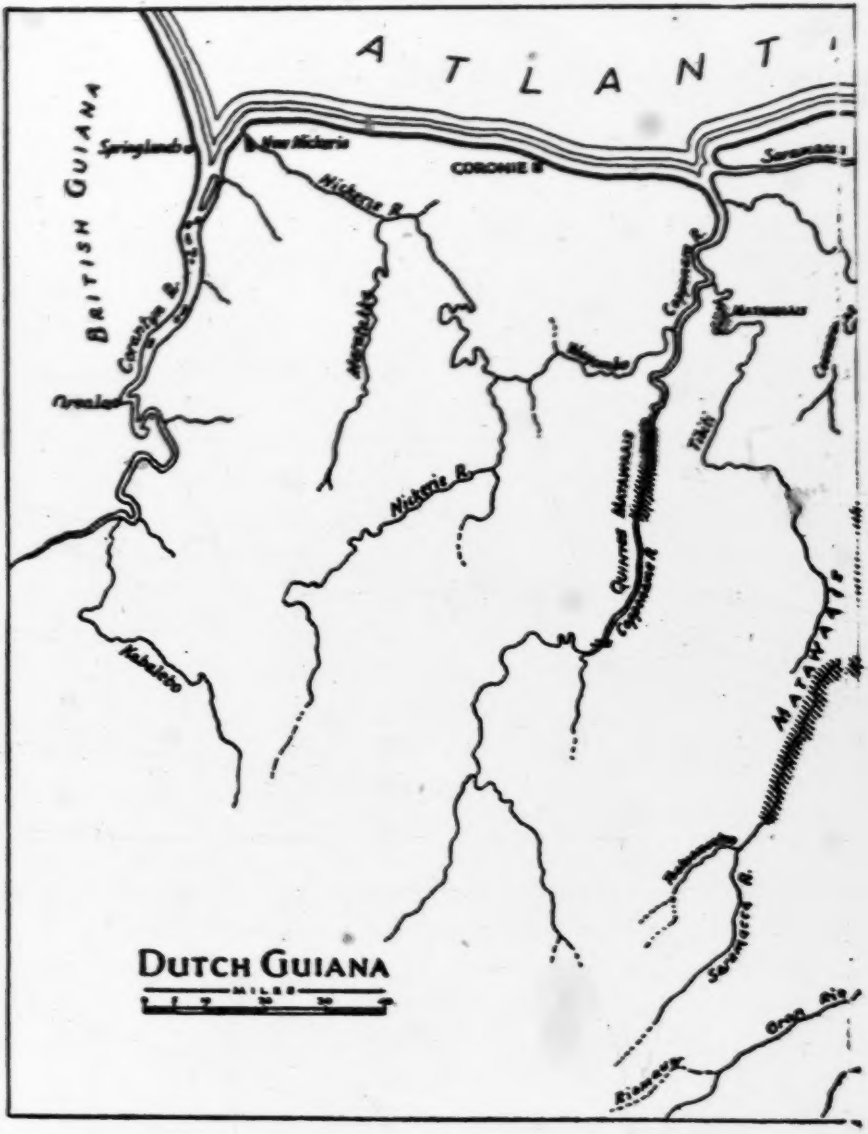

[Facing p. 100, Sec. 1]

Distribution of Bush Negro Tribes
Drawn after a sketch by

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

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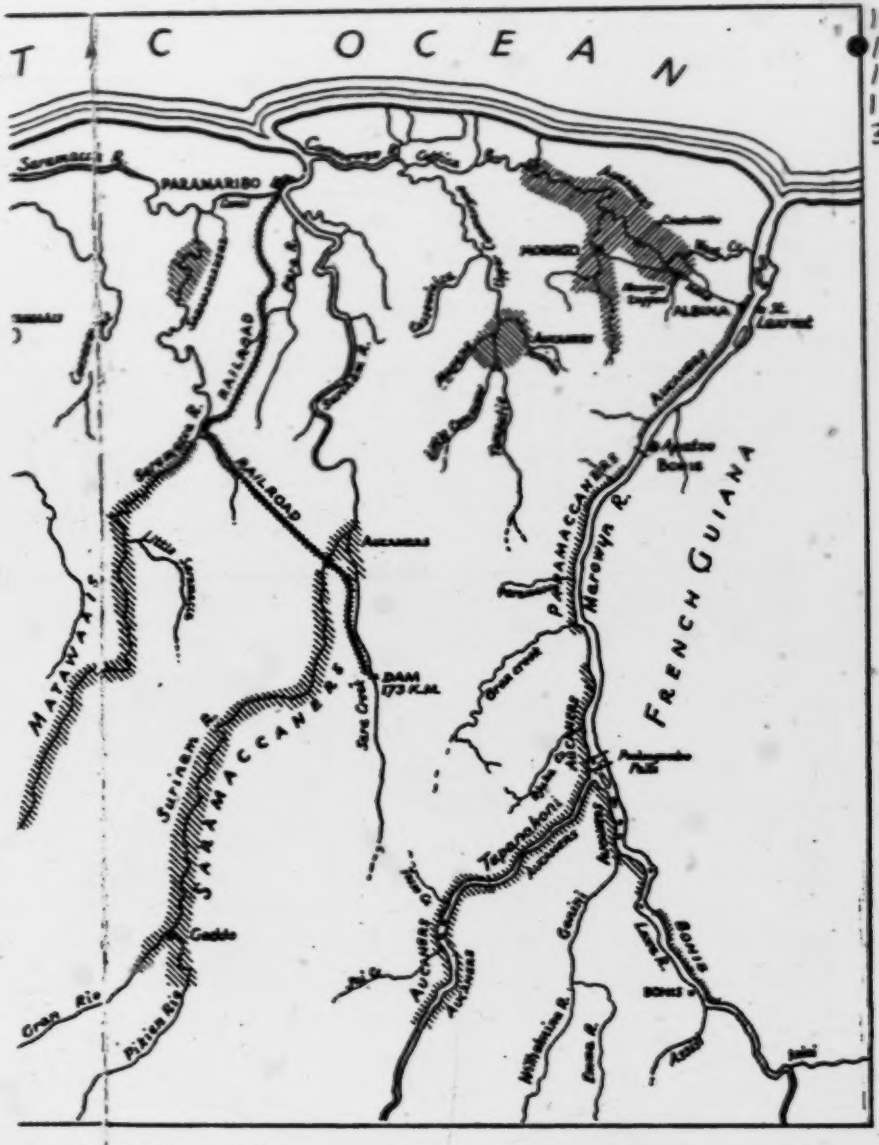

gro Tribes in Dutch Guiana
: sketch by Rogalli

[Facing p. 100, Sec. B

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

after a day's portage from its source one may strike the Tosso Creek, which brings the lower Sara Creek Aucaners into the distant Tapanahoni River, where exist the main body of the Aucaner tribe. They inhabit both banks of the Tapanahoni, from its mouth where it flows into the Marowyne River to some distance beyond the far Jai Creek. The Aucaners, like the Saramaccaners, are divided into several lo or clans. The names of these are as follows: the *Missi Jon lo* and *Otto lo*, which are the most powerful and to which belong the families of the Granmans; the *Perica lo, Pata lo M'beh lo, Ju Nengre lo, Penasi lo, N'Yafi lo, Bray lo, Compai lo, Deekah lo, La Paix lo, Ke-o Condree lo,* and *Pooloogoodoo lo*. The head of the lo is called *Papa fu ah lo,* "father for the lo."

Beside these, the Aucaners have also divided their tribe into two separate parts, but they are both under the same Granman. These divisions are known as the *Uppo Nengre* (Upper Negro) and *Below Nengre* (Below Negro). The boundary between them being the Gran Hollo (Big Hole) Falls in the Tapanahoni River. The territory of the Below Nengre begins past the mouth of the Gran Creek and extends up the Tapanahoni River to the falls above mentioned. The islands in the Marowyne belong to this division and their territory also extends to the Dutch side of the Lawa River up to Aboona Sungu Falls (a man named Aboona sank there), which forms the boundary between the Aucaners and the Boni tribe in that region. Some names of the villages belonging to the Below Nengre Aucaners of that dis-

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

103 361 trict are as follows: Londo, Adjuba, Poko, Apah-gee, Bahnda, Apindah, Capusee Tabiki (Armadillo Island), Purigoodoo, Ki-u, Behnanoo, One Finga, Nikerie, Manlobbi, Fahndahki, Clementi, Moompasa, Saaje, Bow-wee, Chung-Chung; and there are many others.

At and above the Gran Hollo Falls in the far Tapanahoni, we have the villages of the Uppo Nengre Aucaners: Sangamasusa, Peekehtee, One-Watra-Ah-Bah, Moi-Talkee, Sribawatra, Yowsa, Meinsie, Dree Tabiki (the seat of the late Granman Amekti, and the seat of the probable new Granman, Matodja, whose mother was the sister of Amekti). Other villages of the Uppo Nengre are Polocaba, Pekein Condree (Little Country), Lohabie, Tombeh-do-me (What Ails Me), E'Sai, Gado Hollo (God's Hole), Ahkay Kuna, and Gran Borree, the last village, beyond which is nothing but the impenetrable bush for hundreds of miles, and no habitation save a few scattered villages of the all-but unknown Indians of that region.

361 On the Dutch side of the Marowyne River there are also Aucaner villages of the Below Nengre extending from just below Albina, the small Dutch settlement, where the Aucaner village of Captain Acrowsie is situated, to just opposite the Boni village of Apatoo. The settlements in this area are: [103] Papa Acroi Condree, Papa Blah Condree, Amon Yeh Condree, Tindalee, Swampu Condree, and Mahyoto.

In the region of the Upper Commewyne River and on the banks of the Mapane, Peninica, Little Commewyne, and Tempati Creeks are also Aucaner villages. These villages are

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

the closest of the tribe to Paramaribo, some ninety miles distant. Some of them are called Nengre Condree Pepper, Gado Dri, Jaffa, Mus Mussi (Little Mouth). 361

On the Upper and Lower Cottica and Cormotibo Rivers, as well as on the Wane Creek which flows into the Marowyne River close to its mouth, and in the region of the Patamacca Creek, are more Aucaner villages:

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Upper Cottica, near Moengo
- Damtoppo (Top of Dam)
- Ferenkie (in the small Indufindu Creek)
- Peto Undro (in the Rikanau Creek)

Patamacca Creek
- Ifilaholo (He Filled the Hole)
- Lassa Undro
- Teme Koo
- Tanta Joe

Cormotibo River
- Toocopie
- Pekein Adjuma Condree
- Moengo Toppo (Top of Mountain)

Wane Creek (tributary of Cormotibo)
- Sebesay Condree
- Kopro Campa (Copper Camp)

Lower Cottica River
- Kumaku Dotee (Ant Hill)
- Langa Huku (Long Hook)
- Pekein Santi (Little Sand)
- Pina T'jari Me (Need Brought Me Here)
- Agiti Undro (Get Below)
- Wan Hatti (One Hat)

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

tribe of the Bush Negroes which owes allegiance to the French. They have never forgiven the Dutch for their relentless pursuit back in the old rebel days. Several years ago the Dutch authorities made an effort to invite the Bonis back into Dutch territory; these overtures, however, were flatly refused.

The derivation of the word "Boni" makes for interesting speculation, and three theories have been advanced to explain it. The first is that the word is derived from the French phrase "Bon Negre" or "Good Negroes" which the colonists of French Guiana applied to the Boni blacks because they were comparatively quiet and peaceful. It is also possible that the tribe may have been named after their famous rebel leader Bonny, who took such a formidable and prominent part in the rebellions. Thirdly, it has been considered that the name was derived from the Bonny River of West Africa, for undoubtedly some of the slaves came from that area. Although *B-o-n-i* is the official Dutch spelling of the word, when the tribesmen refer to themselves the accent is placed on the second syllable, and phonetically the word should be spelled *B-o-n-e-e* and pronounced much the same as the word *Pawnee*, the tribe of American Indians in the western United States. The Granman of this tribe, Awensai, receives his annual stipend from the Governor of French Guiana at Cayenne.

The first village of the Boni, situated on the French side of the Marowyne River, is that of Apatoo nestling at the foot of the Armina falls. The entire French side of the river from

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

361 that point has no further permanent habitations of the Bush
103 Negroes. Past the realm of the Aucaners on the Lawa River (the confluence of which with the Tapanahoni goes to form the Marowyne) we find the continuation of the Boni tribe, consisting of the villages of Tahbiki, Pulumuffo, the seat of the Granman, Loka, Papai-Seton, Agodai, Komuntibo, Cottica (the only Boni village on Dutch territory, but whose inhabitants also owe allegiance to the French), Akuba, and the last of all the Bush Negro villages, Assisi, past the mouth of the far Assisi Creek.

177 The Bonis, although the most remote of the Bush Negroes from the plantations from which they originally escaped as slaves, have certainly succumbed the most to the influences of the white civilization. Even the village of the Saramaccaner tribe, Santi Gron, only some twenty miles from Paramaribo, maintains in true aboriginal fashion its African customs and its heathen gods.

797 The French Catholic priests have been more successful in making converts among the Boni than have the Dutch among the other tribes. In one village, however, we saw the usual heathen fetishes on full display, but we were told that they only afforded real protection to those who *believed* in them. Some of these tribesmen wear trousers and the headcloth of the French Guiana Town Negroes. We have even heard it whispered that some of the Boni own shoes, which
[689] is an unspeakable offence against the code among any of the other tribes.

Although the huts are of Africanesque architecture, similar

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Paramaca

175 Marowyne River on account of the Boni and Aucaner tribes,
361 who were long established there and who were much stronger numerically than the newly arrived Paramaccas. They finally came out of the creeks, however, and founded a village on the Dutch side of the Marowyne River near the mouth of the Paramacca Creek. The main seat of the tribe is
[103] now the village of Langa Tabiki (Long Island), which, as the name denotes, is an island in the Marowyne River. This is the village of the Granman. Beside Langa Tabiki, there is
361 the village of Amerika Condree (from a Bush Negro captain
103 called Amerika). This village is situated on the island of Boni Boro, which means the "Bonis arrived." A third important village is that of Akodo Condree, captained by one Akodo and situated on an island of the same name in the Marowyne River. There are lesser villages on the Dutch bank of the Marowyne extending just past the mouth of Gran Creek. The Paramacca village of Seeton Ponta (Pointed Stone) is situated on the French side of the Marowyne. The older villages in the Paramacca and Tempati Creeks have long since been abandoned.

115 In Seeton Ponta we had a long talk with an old Captain
159 Koffay who claims to be some eighty years of age and whose appearance certainly bears him out. He is the grandson of one of the original women slaves who escaped and aided in founding the tribe. He can remember his grandmother telling of the terrible privations of the early days when they first escaped into the jungle, how starvation nearly overtook them on a number of occasions, how they wandered for forty-

/6 cont./

175 pacified Bush Negroes. From then on they received from the
648 Netherlands Government annual presents consisting of guns, herbs, lead, tobacco, rice, salt, dram, and so forth.

648 In later times, however, these were gradually decreased
829 by the government and finally completely abolished, as a result of which the Negroes no longer so willingly and without remuneration want to be of service to the government; since they believe that with the conclusion of the peace they came to an agreement with the government that on their part the Whites would no longer be hindered in anything, while they would endeavor to assist the government whenever that should be necessary, in return for which the presents mentioned above would be handed out to them annually on the part of the government. At present they complain about their treatment by the government and refuse to believe that they can and may trust the Whites.

101 The Bush Negroes are divided into four tribes: /7/
103 1st. Aucaners, who have their dwelling place, Auca, on the
133 river Marowyne; and they have their working places on the river above Cottica, where they come from the Marowyne by way of the Wanakreek. Among themselves they are called Joeka /Djuka/ and by the Whites, Aucaners, after the plantation Auca, where on 19 October 1760 peace was concluded with them.

2nd. Saramaccaners, who live on the river above Surinam, principally near the waterfall Arasoebanja near Gjengjen and Prakieki, and have their working places along the same river and in the cove /kreek," creek, cove"/ Taaiboto Kouloegrou and Kassipora. They are called Saramaccaners by the Whites, after the river of that name (where they formerly lived), and among themselves Wousie or Moejére.

3rd. Mantoewari, who have their dwelling place on the river above Saramacca and their working places along the same river on Maripaston and in the cove Mindrinetie. They are names like the Saramaccaners, since they, too, although separate, live on the same river.

/136/

121 The agriculture of the Bush Negroes, however, has become
[241] a matter which urgently demands the attention of the administration as a result of the wasteful use of land. Until now little attention has been paid to this, but if one wants to develop the interior of Surinam, this problem will also have to be looked into.

101 The data provided here throw light upon the agriculture of
121 the Paramaccaners and the Aucaners on the Marowijne and the
[103] Tapanahoni. They were gathered during the above-mentioned medical expedition and during a trip to the Tapanahoni in October, 1952. The facts thus refer primarily to the Marowijne, but in general they are certainly also valid for the other rivers along
121 which the Bush Negroes live. It is a typically Surinam problem,
648 connected with the circumstance that the Bush Negroes have worked in the deep interior in the same fashion for hundreds of years, independent of the life in the civilized coastal region and almost completely outside the sphere of interest of the government.

2. The Grounds System

241 For the planting of agricultural crops the Bush Negro lays out little so-called food grounds. One is to understand by this
[311] cleared pieces of ground in the virgin forest on which the crops are cultivated. The grounds lie along the rivers on higher flat lands, mostly terraces that are not submerged during high water or, in the absence of such terrain, on the slopes of hills. They are more or less circular and have a surface area of a half to one and a half hectares.

241 During the long dry season (October, November) the men
221 clear the grounds. Two to three weeks thereafter the forest that
132 has been felled is burned; the smaller branches are cleared away,
462 but the trunks are left lying. The ground is not worked. As soon as the rains of the short rainy season begin, they start to plant and sow. This planting time falls in December and January. The wives of the Bush Negroes (for only the women do the further work) now plant all kinds of crops at the same time on one and the same ground.

/141 cont./
241 of this predatory cultivation has been reached. The nearby
423 agricultural lands are kept in use with too brief a rest period, with
[134] the result that the soil is overworked and the periodic recovery
[825] of the forest proceeds at an ever slower pace. In addition one struggles to an increasing degree with the problem /142/ of the leaf-cutting ants, which keep the easily accessible places occupied.

241 The consequence of this circumstance is that the Bush Negroes
311 are forced to make the grounds farther and farther from their vil-
[484] lages. One travels for hours up or down the river in order to
[422] reach good land. When one cannot make good use of a forest creek in order to transport the produce from the field, one is forced to carry the harvest for one or two hours through the forest to the river. The Bush Negro does not go farther than a two hours' walk (about six kilometers from the river) (see the map /see p. 13 /).

241 On the Tapanahoni one spends even days in traveling to less
311 populated areas in order to plant and to harvest. One then estab-
361 lishes so-called work camps along the river, from which one
[103] operates in the surrounding areas. This is the case, among others, between Godoholo and Granbori for people from Drietabbetje or
311 other centers. That one does not go even farther up river, all the
423 way past the last village, Granbori, has to do with a prohibition
643 by the granman of the Aucaners. That is, the latter wants to reserve the lands lying beyond this point as hunting lands and therefore will not make them available for agricultural purposes.

241 The inhabitants of the villages along the lower Tapanahoni,
311 such as Sajé, Clementi, and Malobbi, frequently lay out their food
423 grounds in the Lawa, where they can have at their disposal agri-
361 cultural lands as far as the Aboenasoengoe Falls. Farther upstream
103 on this river the Bonni or Aloekoe Negroes assert their rights.

5. Differences between Aucaners and Paramaccaners

101 The conditions given above apply in the main to the Aucaner
162 Bush Negroes of the Tapanahoni. They number today approximately
[311] 6,500 persons. The Paramaccaner Bush Negroes of the Marowijne, approximately 1,700 in number, are in somewhat more favorable

4: Geijskes--13 G, N-5 (1952) 1954 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

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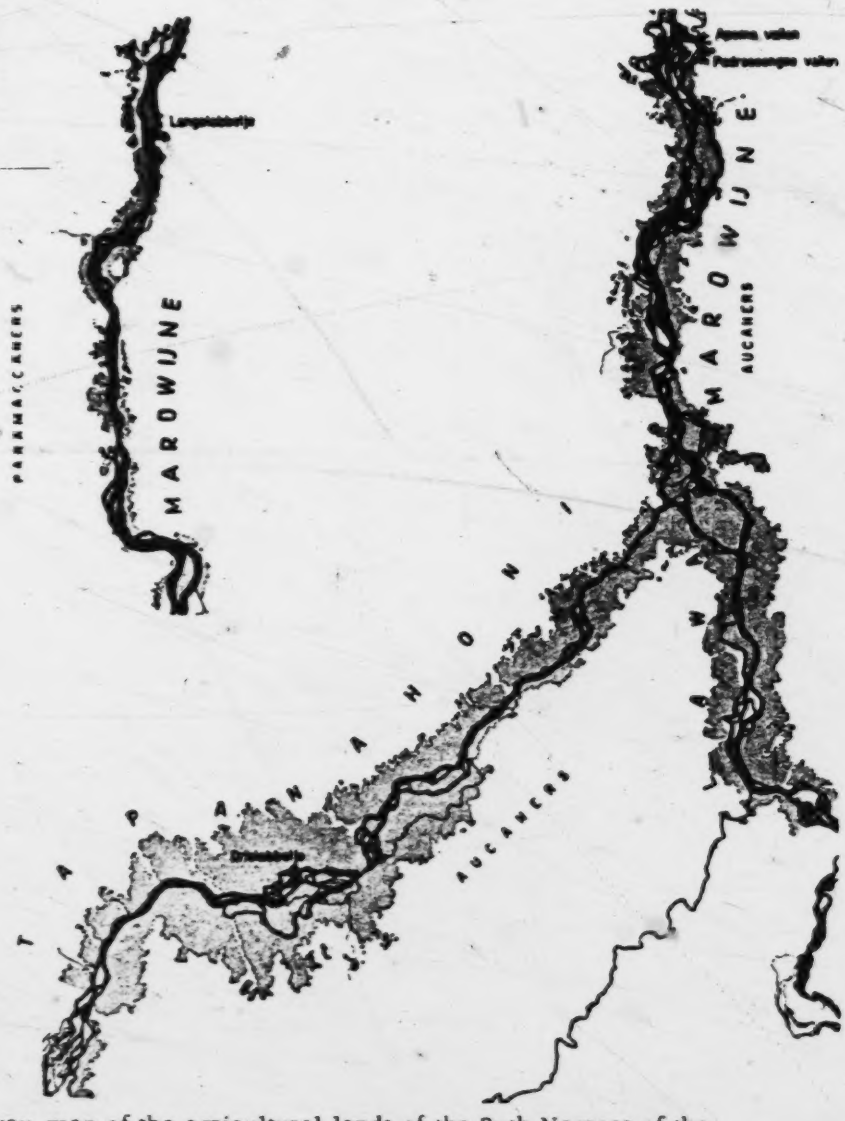

Survey map of the agricultural lands of the Bush Negroes of the Marowijne /Maroni/. Made from aerial photographs by the Central Bureau Luchtkaartering Paramaribo /Central Bureau for Aerial Surveying, Paramaribo/. Taken in 1947.

B
R /509 cont./
101 October 1958 – January 1959), expeditions whose principal aim
114 was the sociological study of these populations.
121

/510/

Social Structure and Way of Life

B
101 The Boni Refugee Blacks. The Boni are one of the above-mentioned
[175] tribes of the Refugee Blacks, reconstituted in the course of the
eighteenth century by rebel African slaves who escaped from
B Surinam plantations (Dutch Guiana).
[131] These tribes (Saramaka, Djuka, Paramaka, Boni) live for the
[161] most part along the rivers of the interior of Surinam. They group
together a total of 25,000 persons.
B
161 With very rare exceptions, the Refugee Blacks are pure Africans.
[144] These populations, vigorous and well adapted to the country, have
experienced in the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries
a remarkable demographic increase, attested to by all the authors.
Descended from small rebel groups which could not have contained
more than a few hundred women, they are now estimated at more
than 25,000 persons.
B
162 The Boni of the Upper Maroni, the subject of the present study,
103 number approximately 800, of whom 660 are on the French bank
[161] (the villages of Boniville, l'Enfant Perdu, Loka, Asisi, Papaïston,
and Kormotibo) and 140 on the Surinam bank (the village of Kotika).
These villages were established long ago.
B
613 Each of them groups together a matrilineage, i.e., the
621 descendants in the uterine line of one single founding ancestress;
769 certain villages know their genealogy in its entirety back to this
ancestress, who must have lived at the end of the eighteenth
century. The members of the lineage are united by the cult of the
B ancestors, which binds them firmly to their natal village and to
[622] their land. The social system is based essentially on this cult,
[793] the chief of the village being above all the priest of the ancestors.
B Strictly speaking, there is no marriage, but only an acknowl-
581 edged concubinage which entails neither a contract between the

/10 cont./

162 The Boni, about 1,000 in number, occupy the course of the
131 Lawa between Abounasounga Falls to the north and the falls of the
Litani to the south. Their "great villages," that is, their residential
36 villages, are: Agodé (Boniville), Kotika, Asisi, Loka, Papaï'ston,
● [103] Kormotibo, Lapé, and l'Enfant Perdu. Three small villages
founded more recently are established on the lower course of the
563 Maroni. The territorial implantation of the Boni has been dis-
turbed by the settlement of Creole gold miners on their territory
178 for three quarters of a century. Their demographic situation is
mediocre and their tribal organization, compared to that of the
[181] other tribes, has lost much of its strength. However, they still
make up a human grouping full of strength and originality.

131 The Djuka, whose "great villages" are in Surinam territory
361 on the /11/ Tapanahoni, can be evaluated at 7,000 to 8,000 in
[162] total. At the height of demographic expansion, their farming
[161] villages swarm on both banks of the Maroni and on the islands,
[648] penetrating more and more deeply into the interior of French
[619] Guiana, where in places they form small temporary groupings
living in symbiosis with the Creole gold miners; the Boni recognize
their right to cross their territory but not that of establishing
villages in it.

433 For a century the economy of the Refugee Blacks has been
648 founded on a symbiosis with the Europeans and Creoles; they furnish
[464] specialized labor (construction, but above all, transport) in ex-
[465] change for relatively high wages. This economy finds itself
178 threatened by the gradual disappearance of gold mining; there is
[166] developing a tendency toward temporary emigration to the Euro-
pean work yards of Saint-Laurent analogous to that of the Saramaka
[182] of Surinam to French Guiana. This is a serious threat to the in-
terior cohesion of the tribes.

6:Hurault--021 K-5 (1948-1958)1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8 ●
Boni
French Guiana SR3
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/16/

Populations of the
Maroni and Mana Basin

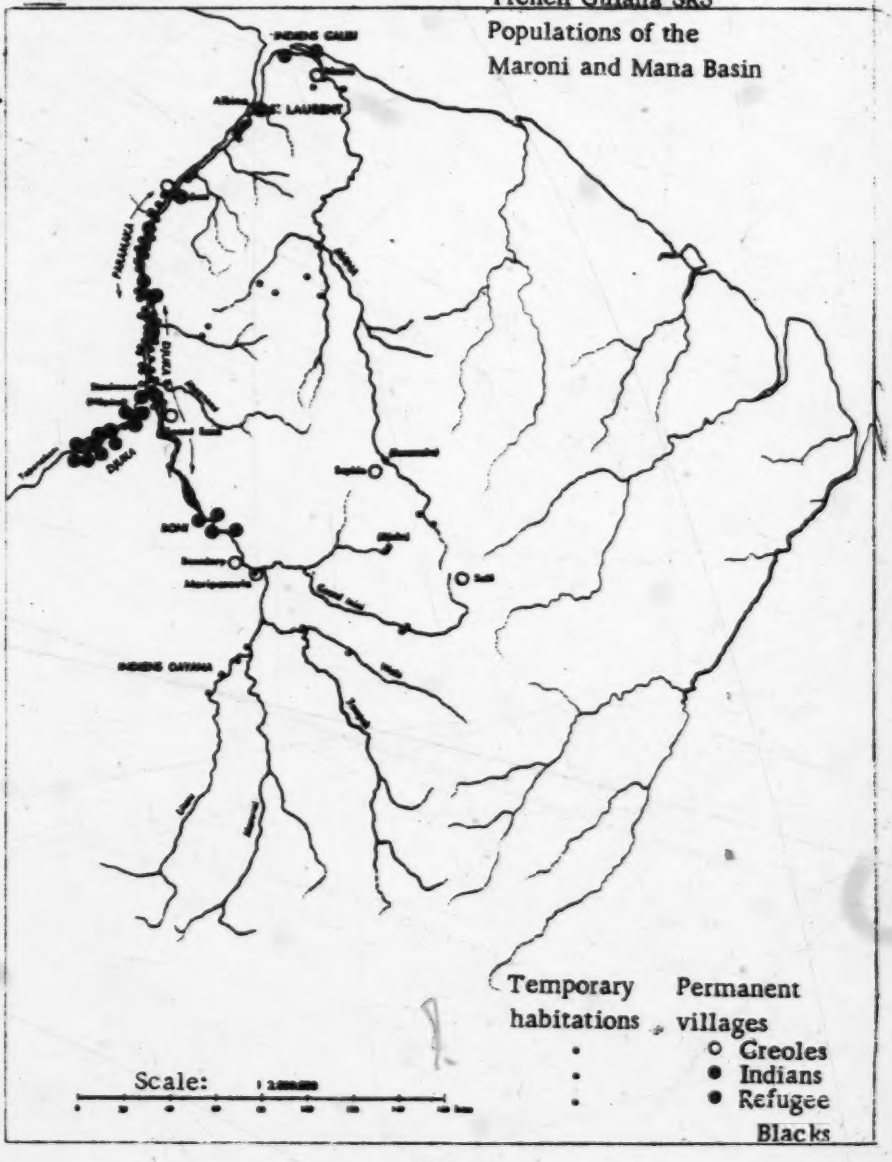

Fig. 2

/17 cont./

162 —On the Lawa a group of a little less than 680 persons is
103 settled on the French bank (villages of Agodé (Boniville), Asisi,
361 Loka, Tabiki (l'Enfant Perdu), Lapé (La Paix), and Papaïston).

—In proximity to this grouping subsists under Dutch control the village of Kotika (Cottica), grouping about 150 persons.

—In the region of Abounasounga two small groupings live in symbiosis with the Djuka. Finally, in the lower course of the Maroni exist three villages: Apatu, Ma Imma, and Wétiti. The whole represents about 150 persons.

361 These villages are stable: Kotika, Lapé, Asisi, Kormotibo
182 were already in existence at the beginning of the 19th century
[175] and their names figure in the report of the Franco-Dutch border mission of 1861; by contrast, farming habitations are moved according to the necessities of agriculture and fishing; thanks to this organization, a relatively numerous grouping can, in the interior of Guiana, in spite of conditions imposed by the geographical environment, conserve complete stability and a firm attachment
[171] to the ground. It is useful to compare this organization with the basic instability of the Indians of Guiana, for it shows very well that this instability is ascribable to psychological and sociological factors and not at all to the geographic environment.

101 The Boni designate themselves by the term Aluku nēnge. The meaning of this word is forgotten. It is possible that Aluku was the name of an ancient chief, or of the founding ancestress
[613] of a lineage. On this subject it is to be noted that the name of the most ancient ancestress known of the Dju lineage, who can be thought of as living at the end of the 18th century, was called
[175] Aluku. This name has been used since the origin of the tribe;
[103] indeed one reads in the interrogation of the woman prisoner conducted in 1847 by the French at Oyapok that her village was called Loukou (1).

/17 cont./

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1. Archives du Ministère de la France d'Outre-Mer, Guyane /Archives of the Ministry of Overseas France, Guiana/, A3-02.

611 /18/ Villages and Kin Groups

Among all the kinship systems which existed in the African tribes from which they issued, the Refugee Blacks came back unanimously, and from the beginning, to matrilineal filiation.

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Their social system is symbiosis, under the authority of the grand man, of a certain number of localized matrilineal kin groups.

613 Matrilineal kin groups of the Boni. With the Boni the basic grouping is the lineage, in the rigorous sense of the term, understanding by that all descendants in maternal line from a single ancestress.

To designate the kin groups the Boni employ almost interchangeably the words lo (troop, band) and bɛɛ, womb. In fact these expressions correspond to two variant interpretations of the same notion:

614 bɛɛ: matrilineage in the widest sense, understanding by that all persons knowing that they are issue of the same ancestress, even if the genealogical ties are forgotten, and even if these persons are scattered in several villages under different authorities;

lo: lineage fraction grouped in one village and constituting a distinct social unit.

The lineage bears a name whose origin is forgotten by present-day Boni; some of these names allude to a plantation or to a slave-owner, for example Lapé (La Paix: a plantation of the Cottica River); as for others, the name of the founding ancestress may be involved. Example: Kawina (name of the lineage constituting the village of Papaïston).

/23 cont./

621 175 [166] [103] Agodé was founded by Grand Man Ochi, probably about 1895, at the time when the Boni were required by the settlement of the Lawa Dispute to evacuate the villages they were occupying on the Surinam bank. The name Boniville was given by the gold miners; it was used never at all by the Boni.

621 613 [103] The Yakubi or Kotika lineage forms the important village of Kotika (1). It is one of those which have remained best grouped.

1. This word alludes to the river where the rebellion of 1772 began.

[423] [241] [103] Its members have exclusive rights over the region included between Abunasunga Falls and their village. They have farmed there for more than a century, and this is why the region is called Abattis Kotika.

613 621 175 [648] Kotika is the oldest Boni village. It is one of those founded by the survivors of the battles against the Dutch when, about 1815, they settled again on the Lawa. Until about 1895 nearly all the Boni were grouped in one large village, each lineage occupying a different quarter. At the time of the settlement, unfavorable to France, of the Lawa Dispute (1895), the various lineages emigrated, founding especially the villages of l'Enfant Perdu, Loka, Boniville, and Papaïston. Only the members of the Kotika lineage stayed, in full agreement with the grand man, so that the ancestral land might not be completely abandoned. [648] [628] Thus the inhabitants of this village are nowadays under the authority of Surinam, without ceasing, for that reason, to be faithful to the grand man and maintaining normal relations with the other groups.

613 614 [124] The genealogies reconstituted in 1957 by systematic interrogation of the old people of the group had led to three distinct fractions which we shall call Kotika 1, 2, and 3, tracing respectively back to ancestresses named Kénéya, Amawi, and Oka.

/29 cont./

121 This is what necessitates as precise an inventory as possible of the population in its present state.

61 Matrilineal kin groups among the Djuka and Saramaka Refugee Blacks.
114 Authors who have described the social structure of the Djuka and
184 Saramaka, groupings appreciably more numerous than the Boni, have also called attention to the use of the words lo and bɛɛ, but give them a completely different meaning.

194 The organization they describe can be summarized thus:
571 Before making up tribes, the rebels lived in small groups
621 near the plantations from which they had escaped; these groups of composite origin were designated by the word lo which means: troop, band; the same word is used to designate a band of animals.

[162] These rebels used to belong to all the nations of the west
[103] coast of Africa. In spots there may have been an attempt at regroupings of elements belonging to the same nation, as proven by the village names Loango, Dahomey, among the Saramaka.
[622] But the majority of these small groups were very probably of heterogeneous origin; in each of these lo, the bravest and most capable was designated as head.

[648] After the recognition of the Djuka and Saramaka by the
[167] government of Surinam and their regrouping on the great rivers of the interior, these groups kept their unity since they had a de facto organization and leaders. They were naturally designated by the name of the plantation they had come from. We say for example Dju nēnge for the former slaves of the Jews, Kōpani nēnge for the former slaves of the Compagnie des Indes Orientales /East India Company/. /30/

174 In the course of the 19th century the total number of Refugee
613 Blacks increased very rapidly under the influence of a high birth
614 rate. The lineages in the proper meaning of the term bɛɛ, mean-
621 ing the descendants of the same ancestress, took on sufficient im-
571 portance to constitute distinct social units. They grouped in
1161

6:Hurault--142 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

/98/

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● 109
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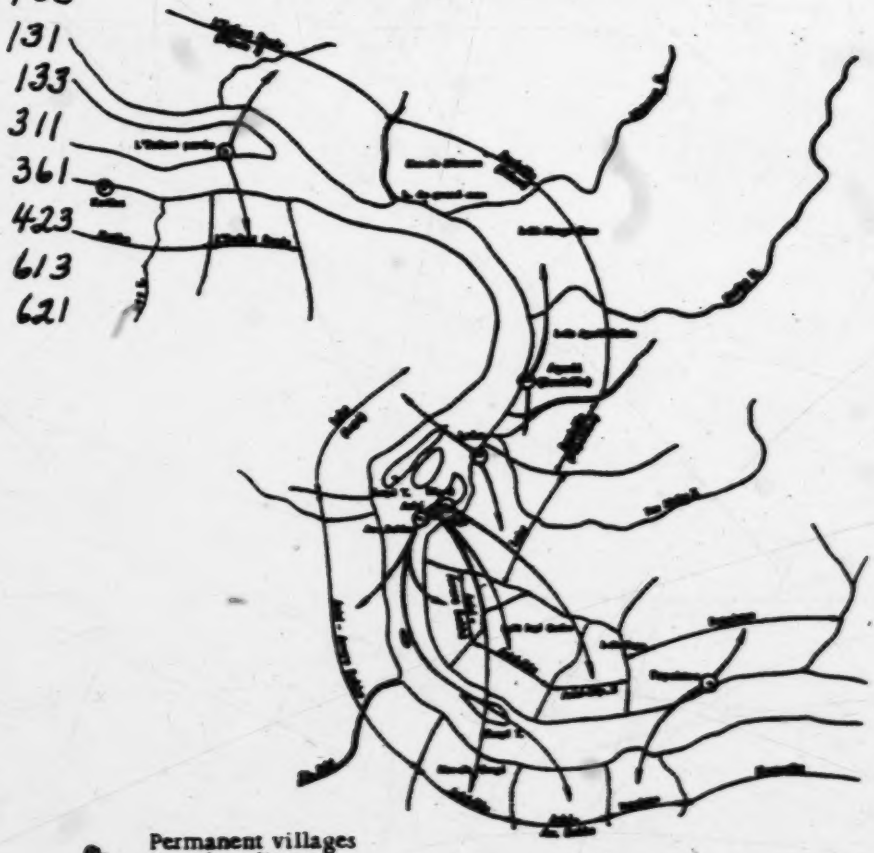
Distribution of Lands in the Neighborhood
of the Principal Boni Villages



● Permanent villages
___ Boundary lines

Scale: 1/[illegible]

/K. or Cr. = Creek,
Lieu-dit = locality,
h. du grand man = habitation of the grand man,
Zone inondable = floodable zone./

Fig. 16.

6:Hurault--145 K-5 (1948 1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

/facing p. 100/

102
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Boni Farming Habitations South of the Confluence with the Inini

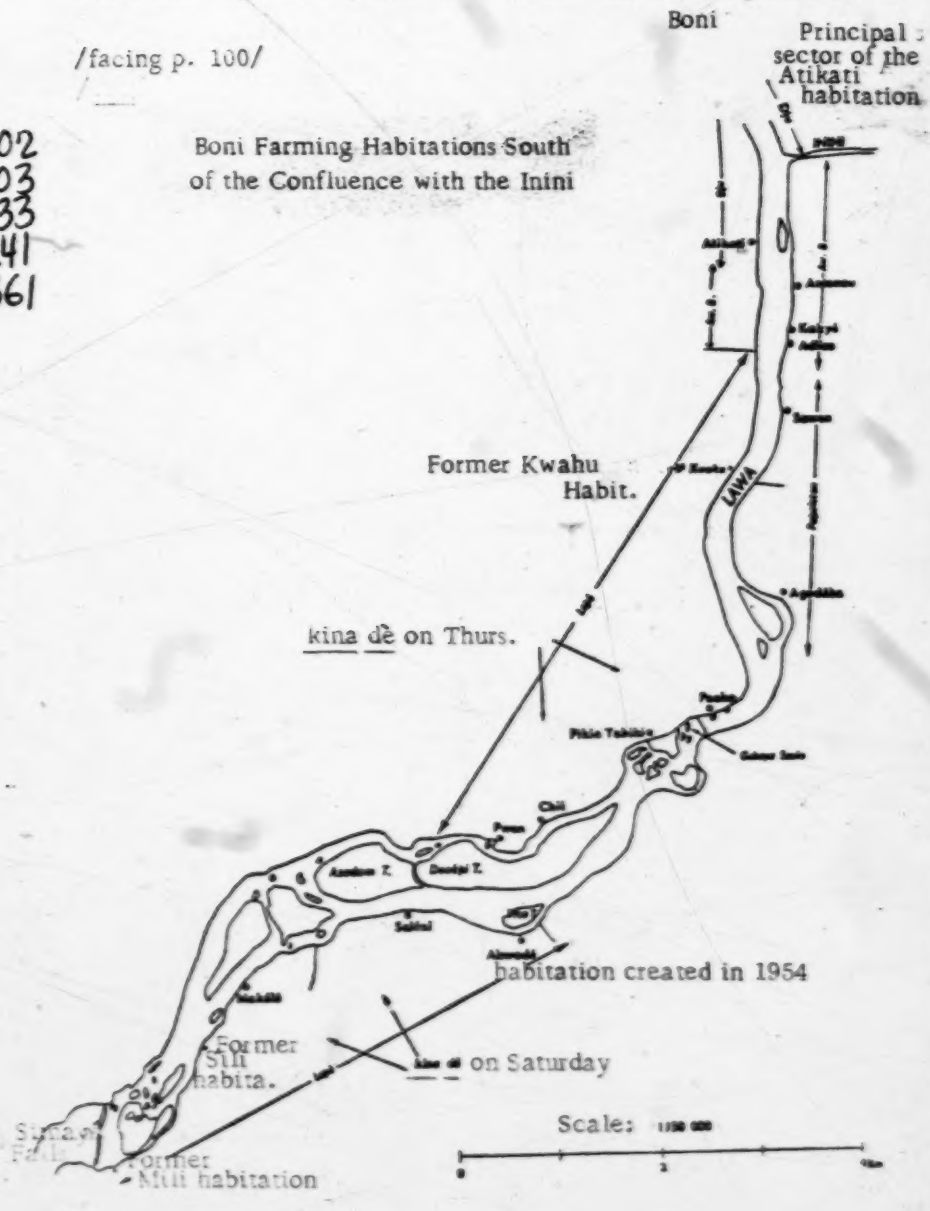

Fig. 17.

361
504 /102 cont./
613 meet the clearings of the people of another lineage; a de facto
423 boundary is thus created, which is henceforth respected.

621 On the other hand, several farming villages of one lineage
241 may have their clearings totally intriqués /entangled/ (this is
613 the case, for example, with the ones of the Antonu and Adiiso
423 habitations). This conforms to the rule of joint possession of the land within the lineage.

621 Organization. The group in a farming habitation is brought to-
241 gether by mutual affinities, and has no hierarchy other than that
642 which springs from kinship ties: authority of the mother over her
592 daughters; authority of the "uncles" over the "nephews."
/103/ The grouping which conforms most to the matrilineal structure of the Refugee Blacks is made up of an old woman, her unmarried sons, her daughters and her daughters' daughters, their husbands coming to help at the time of the clearings but not belonging to the group. Often it is this old woman who directs the habitation, but often also it is an old uncle, her classificatory brother, who has worked with her for a long time. Sometimes this old woman has come to live with her daughters on the habitation founded by her husband.

● 103 Some of the habitations bear men's names, others women's
423 names. The name which prevails may be completely at variance
592 with the real rights exercised over the land (Ex.: name of Adiiso given to the habitation of his wife where Adiiso has no right at
[613] all). That has no great importance in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks, the only important thing being collective possession of the land by the lineage.

621 For groups which are relatively numerous and brought to-
241 gether more by mutual affinities than by kinship ties, the mini-
622 mum of authority necessary for good feeling and the organization of the work is brought to bear by the founder. For example,

:Hurault--158 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

/facing p. 108/

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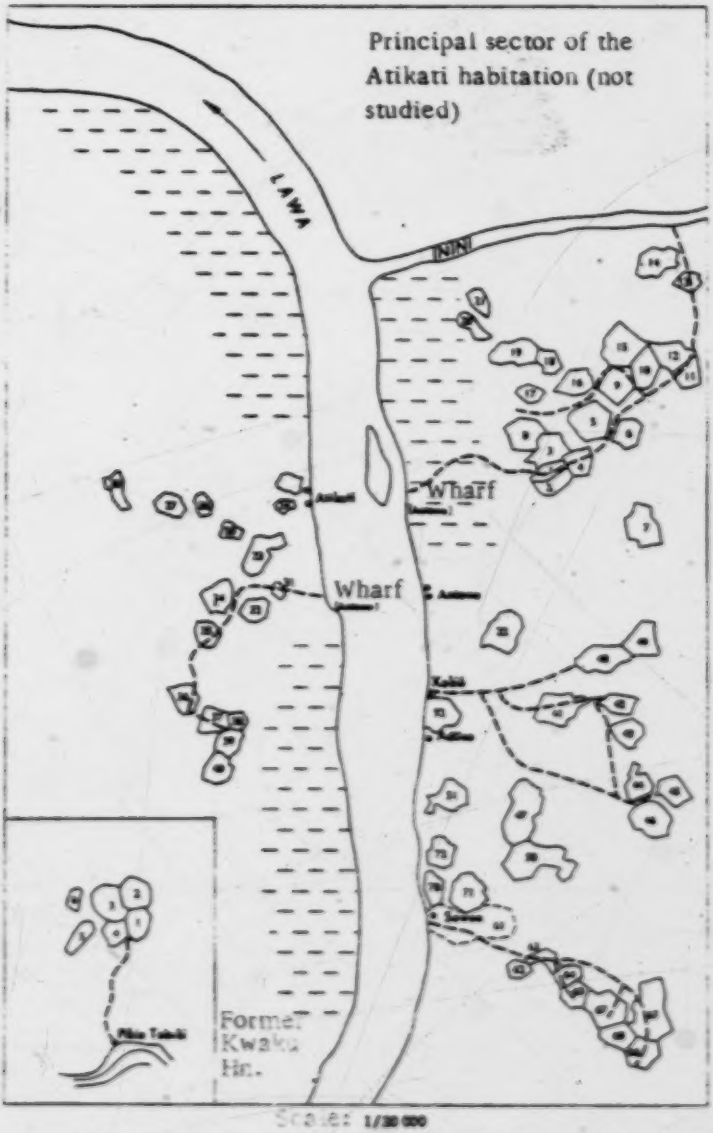
Distribution of Lands among the Lineages
in the Neighborhood of the Confluence with the Inini



Scale: 1/20 000

Aerial photographs by the IGN/ORSTOM mission, taken in October, 1956

farming habitation

floodable zone

clearings studied in January, 1957

Fig. 18.

6:Hurault--172 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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/facing p. 119/

Fig. 20.

Grouping of the Members of the Dju Lineage into Sectors and Farming Habitations October 1957

This chart shows the absence of any tendency toward the scission of the lineage into separate fractions.

/214 cont./

787 their legs with this white clay; they prophesy in a singing tone, without the usual voice of their bearer's ceasing to be recognizable, expressing themselves in the Saramaka language.

796 The Ampuku have the appearance of men similar to Blacks, but unknown. They reside in the depths of the woods; some are good, others bad. One can gain their good will by [84] worshiping them, which is especially developed in Saramaka country.

796 Baliki, of Kormotibo village, tells of having been present 535 one day at a dance of the Ampuku, when he was traveling to [103] the Saramaka village of Balen.

"During the day, people went on the paths far into the bush to put down calabashes containing certain herbs. At night were seen to come out of the forest a large number of unknown men, dressed in the manner of the Saramaka. They danced all night, and at dawn left again as they had come."

776 The Ampuku gods, considered to be maleficent gods of [789] the bush, exercise their influence on everyone. When a person [824] has slept in the bush, he "washes" himself free of Ampuku with an infusion of leaves of five plants which are part of the secondary flora surrounding the villages and of which the principal plant is the sangaafu (Costus cylindricus).

791 Frequency of possession. In 1956 teachers or bas were very 787 scarce in Boni country. For the Kumenti gods, only S... (Kotika) remained; for the Papa gadu, since the death of Antinon (Dju), there remained only M... (Papaïston) and B... [619] (Asisi). People were commonly going to receive instruction from Djuka teachers in the villages of the Tapanaoni.

787 It would be a great error to believe that nearly all the 562 men have gods. On the contrary, this is an exception. According to the evaluations we were able to make, there is not more than one adult man out of six or seven who is possessed.

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A (p. 576)
B (p. 577)
C (p. 578)
D (p. 579)

Chart of Positions of End Map /facing p. 576/

102
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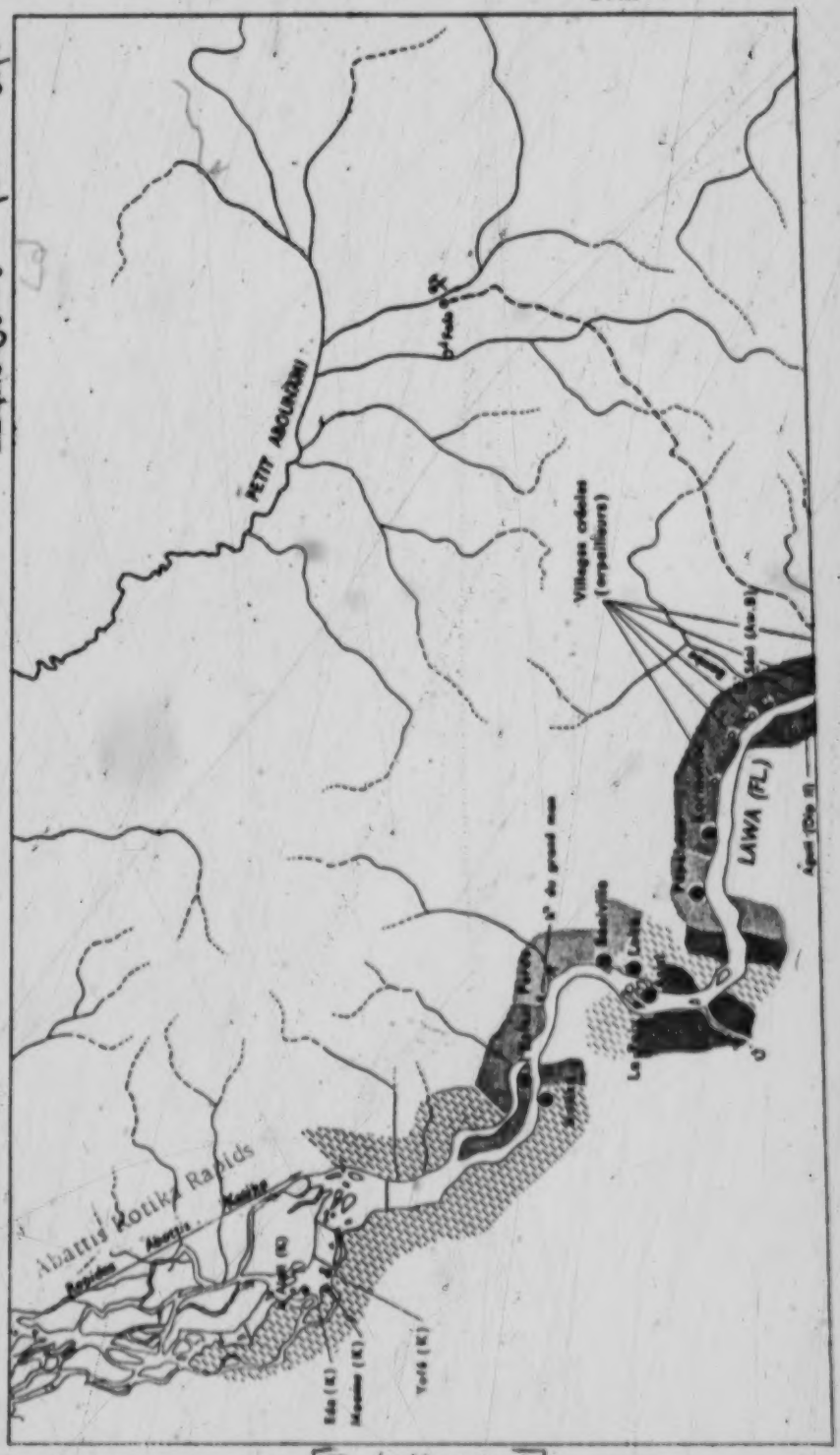

End Map - A

G:Hurault--577 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

● 102
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423
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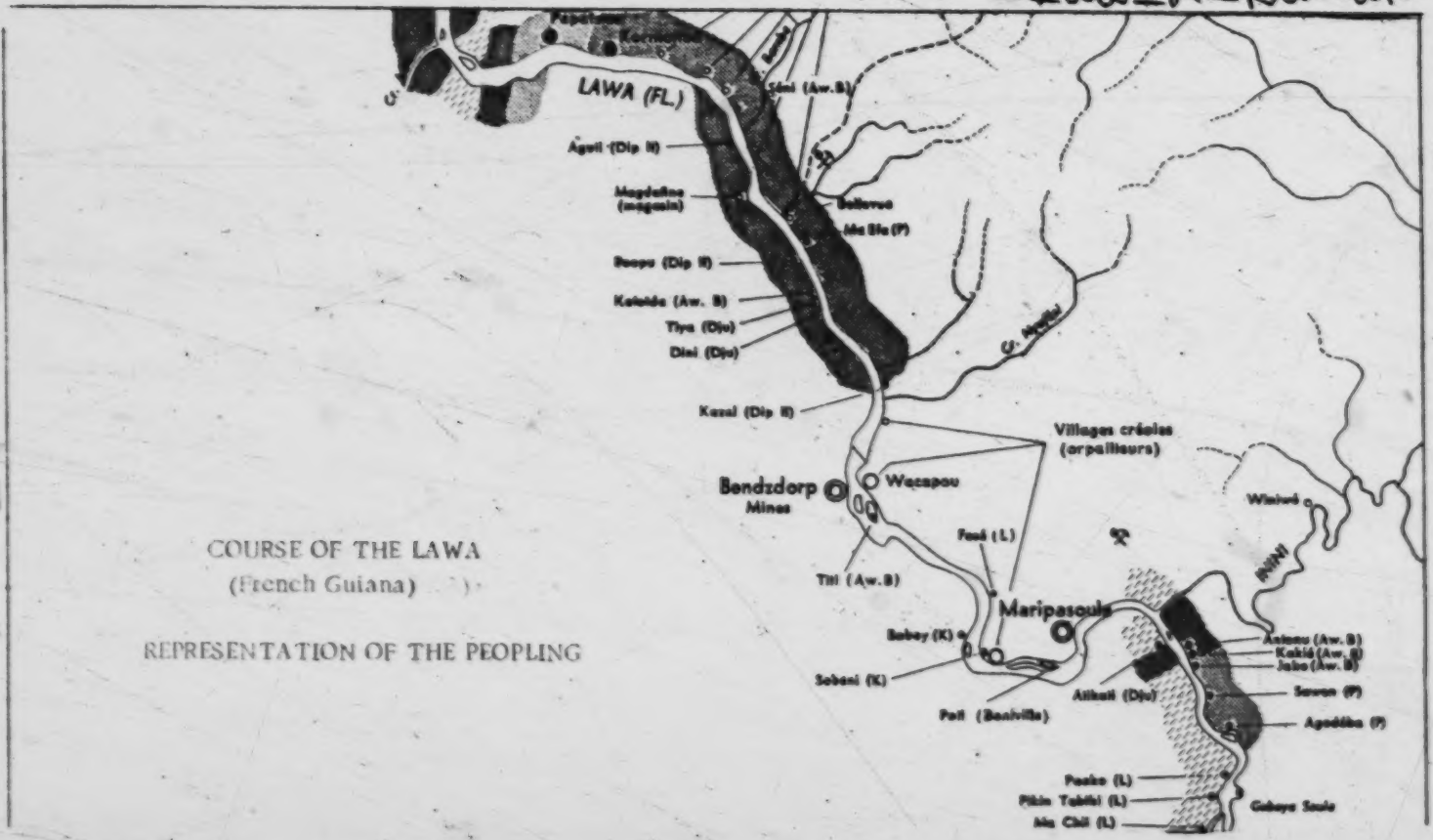
621



COURSE OF THE LAWA
(French Guiana)

REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLING

[End Map-B]

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G:Hurault--573 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8 Boni

Villages and Farming Habitations
in 1958

- ● Boni residence villages
- • Boni farming habitations
- o Creole villages
- O European establishments
- • Créole habitations
- ⚒ Small gold workings
- • Indian villages

Lands belonging to the Boni lineages

- (K) Kotika lo
- (Dip) Dipéiu lo
- (D) Dikan lo
- (L) Lapé lo
- (Dju) Dju lo

Ent Map - C

102
103
131
133
162
311
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423
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621

6:Hurault--573 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

K-40W P43

Lands belonging to the Boni lineages

(D) Dikan lo

(L) Lapé lo

(Dju) Dju lo

(Aw.B.) Awara Bakka lo

(P) Papaïston lo

Scale 1/200.000

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Km.

Kadie (L)

Abuine (L)

Nouti (L)

Anc. douane

Awara Saale

TAMPOC

LITANI

Indiens Oayana

Saale de Litani

Tolinga (Papaïston)

Grand Kaabi Saale

Petite Saal Saale

102
103
133
241
311
361
423
487
504
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614

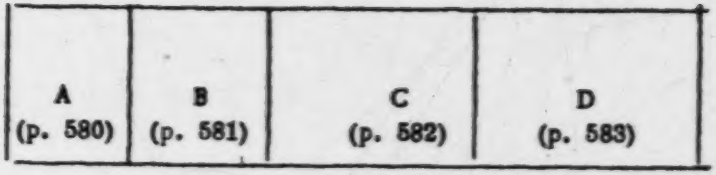

Chart of Positions of End Plate /facing p. 580/

6:Hurault--580 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

DIVISION OF LANDS AMONG THE LINEAGES IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF THE PRINCIPAL BONI VILLAGES

102
●103
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361
423
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613
614
504

Photographic montage made with the help of photographs of Field Trip 007/200 IGN Guiana
Scale 1/20 000 Taken in October, 1956

[End Plate - A]

6:Hurault--581 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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764
504

Scale 1/20 000

[End Plate - B]

6:Hurault--582 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

102
103
133
241
311
361
423
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504
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614

Scale 1 / 20 000

[End Plate - C]

6:Hurault--583 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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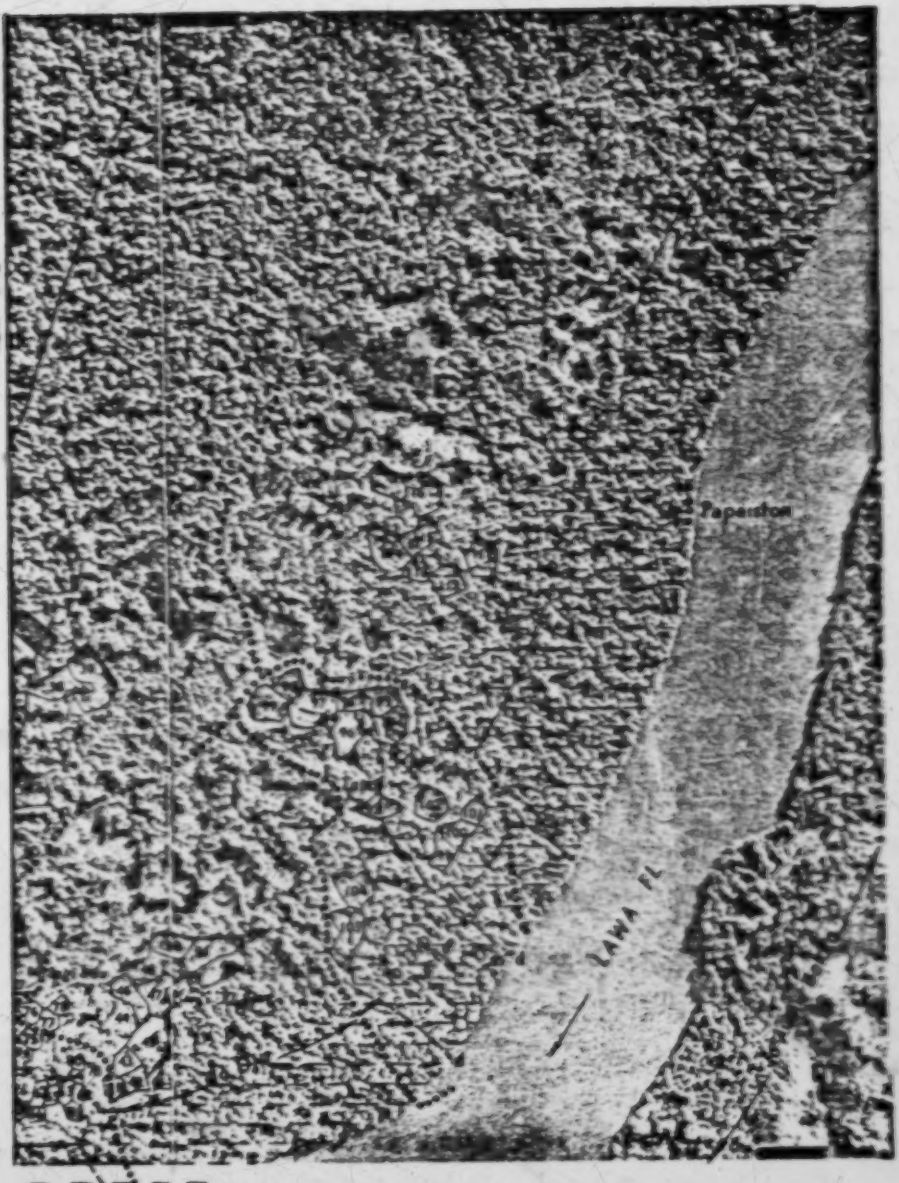

Agodé Permanent villages
clearings
floodable zones
boundaries not known
farming habitation
dégrad (wharf)
path
approximate boundaries of agricultural land

[End Plate - D]